Spurious Etymologies: Toponymic Books and Town Name Identities of the Murray River

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Abstract:

This paper identifies the historical-cultural processes represented by the published etymologies of the town names of the Murray River. In particular, it will focus on Victorian and Australian toponymic reference books, and the effects they have had on the representations of local Murray River town histories. There will also be some discussion on how, instead of being limited to mere reference material for tourists, toponymic books have been used by local historians as sources for determining the history of their place names. Moreover, consideration will be given to specific cases where spurious etymologies published in toponymic books in the early part of the twentieth century, have been republished in later toponymic reference books, and eventually adopted as part of local town histories. This process will be discussed in line with Geoffrey Blainey's critique of 'scissors and paste in local history'.[1]

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Guard well the old names, new citizens, for in them lies the story of the land to which you have come. [2]

- Martin Desmond, *A Tale of Twin Cities*, 1951.

The generalist nature of toponymic reference books- wherein little mention is made of official naming dates and/or multiple indigenous languages are represented as one homogeneous Aboriginal language of Australia- can be seen to have influenced the narratives of local history. Many historians include in their accounts a description of the meaning of their town name that has been taken from these toponymic reference works. It is argued in this article that many such local historians have been unwilling to treat the origins of their town names, and the symbolism, with proper care (or perhaps due respect). This process of historical narrative creation was termed 'scissors and paste local history' by Geoffrey Blainey, who adopted the term coined by R.G. Collingwood in 1946.[3]

Blainey criticised this 'casual attitude to evidence' and stated that the method had 'ruined or mutilated a sack-load of Australian local histories'.[4] The problem arises, he argued, because the writer has to publish a local history 'as quickly as possible [and]…therefore he searches, not so much for evidence, as for ready-made history in books, old newspapers, journals, reports or diaries'. This process of history writing Blainey likened to pavement making, where the 'sole aim is to cover the distance. He worries little if the contractor who supplies the materials delivers cracked slabs; he doesn't bother to fill awkward gaps with a mosaic of small stones; he doesn't care if his path has weak foundations'. This scissors-and-paste approach to local histories is evident in many published accounts of Murray River town history, especially in relation to local toponyms. This article aims to uncover the spurious etymologies published in these

accounts, which are based on a habit of uncritically cutting toponymic reference information from place-name books, and pasting the meanings into the local histories.

Four main patterns have been identified in the ways local histories have presented the meaning and symbolism of town names. These are *properly translated*, *wrongly translated*, *invented* and *confused*. This study of the written representation of town-name symbolism is important, as it gives an insight into the manner in which styles of historical representation have either relied on each other to create locality 'truths' or ignored each other's contributions to historical symbolism.

Properly Translated

Tyntynder was originally the name used by the WadiWadi language speakers to refer to a locality on the Murray River.[5] George Augustus Robinson noted in his journal of 1846, that there was a tribe of Aborigines in the area, the *Tindinee*, who referred to it as *Tin.tin.dare.re*, yet he did not publish a meaning for the name.[6] Translated as meaning 'acrid lichen' in B.W. Gummow's list of names in Smyth's 1878 book,[7] this translation still stands today and was republished in toponymic books by Saxton, Massola, Blake, and Clark and Heydon.[8] The name translation itself can be attributed to Peter and Andrew Beveridge, the first colonists to establish a station at Tyntynder. These two borthers learnt the local language and many customs, and published their knowledge in various avenues. In 1911 A.C. Stone published an alternate, a WembaWemba name name for Tyntynder- 'gingingerrett', a name which he derived from the WembaWemba people who worked in his bakery in Lake Boga.[9] Stone also noted that the people who lived in the gingingerrett area were known as the 'Dacournditch', but Stone did not provide translations for these names.

In 1977, one local historian, Alice Cerutty related the origins of the name Tyntynder by stating that the local WadiWadi people called this area 'tchin-tchin-dja', in reference to the lichen that grew there.[10] Interestingly, Cerutty explained the history of the WadiWadi and made a concerted effort to present their distinct and multiple histories of the area. This was not the only history published of the area, however. In 1973, Arthur Feldtmann's book on the history of Swan Hill mentioned that the name Tyntynder was

'the tribal name of the local aborigines, who said the meaning of the name was "the flight and twitter of birds"'.[11] This translation, which is unsourced, was in turn re-published by a group of Swan Hill Aboriginal Educators in 1990.[12] Whilst it is true that Aboriginal names could be translated in more than one way, the fact that Feldtmann stated that the group of Aborigines in the area were known as *Tyntynder*, is interesting. The question remains as to how Feldtmann and the Swan Hill Aboriginal Educators came to the understanding of the name as meaning 'flight and twitter of birds'. Indeed, why if there are multiple translations available, did the local Aboriginal group not publish this in their book? Possibly they fell into the trap of generating an easy-to-comprehend history of their landscape identity.

Thus, the name Tyntynder, when referred to in toponymic books, is translated correctly, yet some local historians have chosen to develop their own meaning for the name. This would not be an issue if the explanations given in these local histories, were appropriately and accurately sourced. In the case of the local indigenous people, reference to their own cultural knowledge as the source of the translation would assist the reader's understanding of the provenance of the word (the booklet does contain a reference list, but the books cited do not account for the translations provided). As for Feldtmann, it can only be stated that, in line with Blainey's arguments, he should have included a reference list as a 'guide to the many curious readers who would like to know where the author found his information'.[13]

Invented Meaning

Many town names of the Murray River that are Anglo-Indigenous in nature were named in circumstances for which no historical records remain to provide researchers with the means to ascertain their origins. Using the specific examples of *Bandiana*, *Echuca* and *Bonegilla*, it will be shown how many toponymists and historians, faced with a lack of historical evidence, have invented a meaning for the town-names.

In 1907 John Saxton translated the town name of *Bandiana* to mean 'Bandy-legged native woman named Anna'.[14] As Saxton did not reference his material, it is impossible to know the source of this translation. It is possible to surmise though that this name was merely enunciated to sound like 'bandy-anna', and Saxton, or his unidentified source(s), invented a translation from this pronunciation. This translation was perpetuated through O'Callaghan's, Martin's and Massola's toponymic reference works.[15] To date, Bandiana has not been the subject of a local history, so this explanation of the name has not been perpetuated in such texts. In 2002 this name was said to be in the Waywurru language district, and Clark and Heydon asserted that no information was available to ascertain the true meaning.[16]

The town of Bandiana is only one of many examples of town-name translations that may have been invented. The towns of Echuca and Bonegilla are further examples of the inventive nature of toponymists' hypotheses and local historians' propensities to repeat them.

The choice of the name *Echuca* is shrouded in mystery, and the meaning of the name holds the same problems. Originally known as *Whungulingia* by the YortaYorta people,[17] yet in Smyth's book of 1878 the surveyor Chauncey contributed a word list that stated Echuca was the original name of the area, and meant 'meeting of waters'.[18] First Saxton, then O'Callaghan, Tyrrell, Reed, Endacott and Blake provided this same translation for the place name.[19] Susan Priestley, in her book *Echuca: A Centenary History*, stated that the place name was derived from the name of the local Woolithiga Tribe, and the name identified 'the most outstanding feature of their environment, for this district which was, the place where rivers meet'.[20] In a similar manner in 1979, Alan Morris stated that 'in February, the Surveyor in Charge of the McIvor district arrived to survey the town and give it the name Echuca, Aboriginal for "the meeting of the waters"'.[21]

The local histories of Priestley and Morris treat the endowment of the name *Echuca*, as an unproblematic recognition that the place was always called Echuca by the YortaYorta peoples. Thus, the histories present this word as an Aboriginal name, even though it was

Anglo-Indigenous, conferred upon the landscape by the new settlers, not the original inhabitants. It is also possible that a meaning was given to the name by local historians Priestley and Morris in an attempt to provide historical richness even though this richness was invented.

In contrast to Echuca, the town of ***Bonegilla*** still holds the name by which the Indigenous people speaking the Waywurru language knew the area when Charles Ebden obtained a lease in 1847.[22] Smyth first published the translation of the name in 1878 as 'Bongella–small island',[23] and in 2002 this name and translation were confirmed by Clark and Heydon.[24] In the 124 years between these two publications though, different translations were provided, and various local histories produced. Saxton provided the first translation of Bonegilla as 'deep water' in 1907.[25] This translation was in turn picked up by Alan Andrews in an article on the history of north-eastern Victoria: 'the meaning of Bonegilla is somewhat doubtful, some claiming that it means "big water-hole" and others "big cattle camp", either of which would be fully applicable to the situation'.[26] Admittedly, he did concede that the meanings were doubtful, but this did not stop him from republishing them four years later as the definitive translations.[27] Toponymic books written by Martin and Massola perpetuated the 'deep water hole' translation,[28] Endacott published the 'big cattle camp' version,[29] and Blake hedged his bets on both names.[30]

Interestingly, in 1997 Dirk and Marijke Eysbertse in their history of Dutch migration to Bonegilla, adapted the original meaning of the place name to the purposes of their history. The Eysbertses ignored other toponymic resources and wrote that 'members of the Woradgery tribe named the area Bone/gilla, which means "place"(bone) of the "meeting of waters"… We have chosen "where the waters meet" as the title for the exhibition and this book marking the 50th anniversary of the opening of the camp'.[31] Furthermore, one of the contributors to this book reflected that 'I find it interesting, and not at all unexpected, that the same metaphor [meeting of the waters] should also appear in NE Victoria at Bonegilla, the junction of two cultures for so many migrants to these shores during the '50s and '60s'.[32] The book provided no references for this translation, even though the rest of it was well sourced. The meaning provided by the Eysbertses'

was thus less concerned with accuracy than with an explanation of local history that could be manipulated to fit their own experiences.

Thus, we find that current place name histories frequently have spurious etymological bases as a result of selective oversight. A cultural appropriation, which has condoned 'invention' of historical explanations based on convenience, is evident in the cases of Bandiana, Echuca and Bonegilla. However, invention of the meaning of town names in the face of a lack of historical evidence is not the only manner in which local historians have distorted their town history. Even when historical information exists, toponymists and historians have sometimes failed to consult original sources, and relied instead on spurious etymologies. This will be the focus of the next section.

Wrongly Translated

A number of town histories have relied on toponymic reference books to give translations of and thus explain the meaning of their town names. This section will investigate these instances in the histories of Moama, Nyah and Mildura, in an attempt to discover the practices local historians have commonly used in accounting for the town's name.

In 1993 *Readers Digest* published a tome on Australian Places, wherein it provided abridged histories of many Australian localities. One such locality was Moama, which *Readers Digest* stated meant 'dead' and derived its name from 'the Aboriginal word "moamay" meaning "place of the dead" because of the burial sites in the sand hills around the settlement'.[33] Similarly, Helen Coulson in 1995 wrote in her local history of Echuca-Moama that 'it [Moama] is an Aboriginal word for "dead" and is probably derived from the many graves Sturt noticed in the sandhills between Barmha and Moama during his 1838 journey'.[34] Coulson stated that she took the translation from Massola's book.[35] All that Massola wrote was 'Moama– dead'.[36] However, Massola's lack of Aboriginal language identification or direct referencing makes it impossible to state exactly where he derived this translation. However, given that he has included O'Callaghan in his bibliography, it is possible to surmise that this was his source.

Moreover, O'Callaghan also gave the translation of 'Moama, native, dead'[37] and directly referenced this translation to Edward Curr.[38]

The perpetuation of a translation by Massola, without direct reference to the original source, has led to the fabrication of local history. Volume one of Curr (page 263) does indeed contain a list of Aboriginal words compiled by A.J. Todd, where the meaning of 'Moama' is given as 'dead'. Unfortunately, however, this translation was taken from a list of the Woolna language of the Northern Territory, 'from the lower portion of the Adelaide River on its eastern side'.[39] Thus it is evident that Coulson's history has relied on sources that have homogenised Indigenous languages, rather than providing specific linguistic detail. It is obvious in this case that a spurious etymology created in 1918 by O'Callaghan was perpetuated by Massola and repeated by Coulson and the Readers' Digest and thus became an article of faith in the local history. It is a perfect example of how one not only creates but also perpetuates invented 'truths'.

In contrast to Moama, where the toponymic books only gave one translation of the name, the place name *Nyah* has been given multiple translations. In 1878 B.W. Gummow, in Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, translated Nyah as meaning 'waist-belt'.[40] However, it was Curr's 1887 translation of Nyah (which came from E. Cunningham of Dawson River, the area of the Wogga Wogga language) as meaning 'see'[41] that was reproduced first by O'Callaghan and then by Massola. Unfortunately, this translation was given by O'Callaghan as being the meaning of the town name, even when the language list it came from had its origins some 3000 kilometres away on the Dawson River. It is possible to surmise though that because in both the WadiWadi and WembaWemba languages 'nyaka' is 'to see', with the past form being 'nyayin',[42] that someone who had lost the original interpretation of the name might have thought of this as a possible etymology. O'Callaghan also provided a translation for Nyah as 'native name of a bend in the Murray River'.[43] Les Blake repeated this translation, adding that '*nia* means here, at this place'.[44] This translation might have had the same source as for that of 'see', due to the fact that 'nhinhi' and 'nhiwi' mean 'this here' in the WembaWemba and WadiWadi languages.[45]

Interestingly, picking up on and extending these multiple translations, the more recent local histories of these areas also offer their own translations of the meanings. In 1974 Alice Lockhart explained in her introduction to the *Back to Nyah* celebration booklet that: 'the Australian Encyclopedia states that the name *Nyah* is an Aboriginal word of "uncertain meaning". It is also referred to in Endacott's Book, *Melbourne*, to mean "a bend in the Murray". It is mentioned in other books as "to see"'.[46] Lockhart did not indicate which of these interpretations was more likely, but nineteen years later, Grace Willoughby, in her history of Nyah, was more than happy to assert that: 'from 1924-1940 we were always told that Nyah is an Aboriginal name for "Big Bend" or "Bend of the river"… Some very recent information from an authority on place names states that Nyah is an Aboriginal name for "this bend" in the river'.[47] This "authority" was definitely the translation provided in Sydney Endacott's work.[48] It is interesting to note that Willoughby utilised her own personal memories of the town name, but referenced them with Endacott. Unfortunately, no substantiations are offered for Endacott's translation, although it can be presumed that he took this translation from O'Callaghan whilst simultaneously disregarding the translation of 'to see'.

Similarly, the possibility of the name *Nyah* meaning 'waist-belt' is never discussed in either the toponymic books or the local histories. Clark and Heydon argue that none of the translations, 'bend', 'see', or 'this bend', can be matched to the WadiWadi language area in which the town of Nyah now exists.[49] Rather, they believe that the WadiWadi name for the area was *ngighyer*, 'waist belt'. Neither of the local history books mentioned that the local indigenous language was WadiWadi; they only refer to the locality's Aboriginal history in reference to the name, a name from a different indigenous language area, however. Therefore, as with the Moama example, local history writers have adopted the toponymic propensity to distort the history of Nyah by beginning the history of the town at the point when it became a colonial settlement in the 1830s, and also ignoring other translations of the indigenous name.

The etymology of the place name *Mildura* did not begin with the publication of a local history. Rather, it was Alexander Reed in 1967 who provided this translation: 'from "dura"or "cura" a fly; "Mil" the eye: a place where sore eyes are prevalent, no doubt

caused by flies that could not easily be driven off'.[50] Reed's translation surely came from O'Callaghan's of 1918, 'an Aboriginal word signifying "opthalmia" or sore eyes prevalent'.[51] In 1977 Blake wrote that that the word meant either sore eyes, or red rock, and from then on the local history repeated both versions of the name.[52] For example, *Mildura Calling*, by Alice Lapthorne, indicated that there were two possible translations for the place name. Like the local histories of Nyah and Moama, Lapthorne represented the history of the Indigenous people of the Mildura area in a generalised manner, stating that 'Mildura is an Aboriginal word meaning either red rock or sore eyes'. [53] She did not mention that these Aborigines were of the JariJari language area, nor did she describe their histories, except to state that:

> they gazed curiously at the new-comers, perhaps in mute reproach for this usurping of their hunting grounds. For many years, Mary Woorlong, the last of the full blood aborigines, was a familiar figure in Mildura. She is remembered as taking part in Mildura's Golden Jubilee in 1937, sitting in a car in the procession in lonely dignity.[54]

Lapthorne thus described the meaning of *Mildura* in a homogeneous, non-specific manner, and perpetuated this with her own account of local Indigenous culture. In many languages of Australia 'mil' is a common stem for words, but in this region of the JariJari the language does not have this form. This linguistic fact was ignored by many toponymic authors, in an obvious disregard for the diversity of Australian Indigenous languages. In 2002 Clark and Heydon were unable to suggest a translation of Mildura in the JariJari language area of the Murray River, because there was not enough origin-specific information available.[55]

The town-names *Moama*, *Nyah* and *Mildura* are certainly indigenous in origin, yet their purported meaning has been taken from incorrect sources, not only by toponymists, but also by local historians. The translations provided are unsubstantiated, and thus the histories of the localities have perpetuated a fabricated meaning for the names.

Confused

There are certain town names where the translations in the local histories differ from those of toponymic books. In the cases of *Lake Boga* and *Swan Hill*, not only do the histories become confused but the lack of acknowledgement of Indigenous history has led to misunderstandings.

In 2002 Clark and Heydon wrote that the locality of Swan Hill was once known as *Babariook* and *Merterrukpert* in the local WembaWemba language. The meaning of Babariook is unknown and Merterrukpert was translated as 'platypus'.[56] In contrast, local histories of the Swan Hill area often explain the meaning of the colonial name by recounting the history of Major Mitchell's expedition, evidently proud of the connections with colonial exploration and the imperial expansion it represents.[57] The landscape connections with indigenous names has, on the other hand, been obscured and represented differently. Of interest to toponymists is the fact that after colonisation the local aboriginal people themselves adopted the town name Swan Hill, and used the translated form *Wanilu* to refer to the town itself.[58] This toponym is not referred to in local histories, or toponymic reference books.

As early as Smyth in 1878, two cognate Indigenous names for Swan Hill were recorded- *Martiragnir* [59]and *Martyrocquert.*[60] The existence of two variants of the one place name might be explained by the fact that Swan Hill is on the margin of two language groups, the WadiWadi and WembaWemba. Mitchell Beveridge wrote that it was called *Babariook*,[61] whilst Blake stated that it was *Martiragnir*.[62] In 1911 A.C. Stone noted that Swan Hill was known as *Marderucpert* but did not provide a translation for this.[63] Local historian Frank Cusack stated that the name for Swan Hill was *Martyrocquert*[64] and when a group of Swan Hill Aboriginal Educators published a book on their history they claimed that Swan Hill was known as *Matakupat.*[65] Cusack's history focused on the post-1836 landscape identification, and the source of his information regarding the Indigenous group or language referred to was not specified. Rather, Cusack gave the homogenised translation of Martyrocquert as the 'Aboriginal name for the site of Swan

Hill; literally, the place of the platypus'.[66] Cusack mentioned this Indigenous name in order to identify place in relation to Major Mitchell's moment of being disturbed by the swans in the area, and his subsequent decision to identify "pre-owned space" with a colonial name.

In 1990, the Swan Hill Aboriginal Educators' group published a booklet on the WembaWemba and WadiWadi history of the Swan Hill area.[67] In a style similar to colonial history books, the information in the booklet contained a collective homogeneous representation of the Indigenous history of the area. In this narrative, the original name for the area was given as Matakupat, translated as 'platypus'. The provenance of this name was not discussed.

An interesting array of etymologies also exist in relation to the name *Lake Boga*. In Stone's publication 14 WembaWemba names are recorded for the town Lake Boga, its various features and surrounding areas.[68] Lake Boga itself was stated to be 'Muymer' and the Lake Boga region was 'Gourrm', which Stone translates as meaning 'breast of woman'. Saxton's toponymic work published in 1907 stated that Lake Boga was named by Thomas Mitchell after the 'Bogan tribe of NSW natives',[69] and in 1977 Blake republished this same information. Blake also added that the original name was *Gunboweroranditch*.[70] In 1854 E.S. Parker's lecture, *The Aborigines of Australia*, stated that the traditional name for the lake was 'goorm', but in the region the word 'boga' also existed and, translated, meant 'swim'.[71] The translation of 'boga' to mean 'swim' presumably came from the early pidgin English word 'bogey', which came from the Dharuk Sydney language and meant 'to swim' or 'to bathe'.[72] Thus, there is evidence that the name Boga was in fact derived from the Indigenous languages local to the Sydney region and placed upon the WembaWemba landscape by Mitchell.

O'Callaghan asserted that the meaning of 'Boga' was unknown, but the original name of the lake was 'kooem, meaning milk'.[73] In 1968 Massola took this original name and translated it as 'breasts'.[74] It is possible that Massola simply reproduced the name for *koorm*, 'breasts' as given by both Smyth and Curr.[75] By way of complete contrast, in terms of the construction of local histories is the Reader's Digest claim in 1993 that:

'Boga is an Aboriginal word said to mean "big" and the broad, deepwater lake on the north-western edge of the Kerang wetlands gave the town its name'.[76] Evidently, Reader's Digest believed the place name history was derived from an original indigenous name for the lake. Arthur Feldtmann offered the translation, 'big', in his local history of 1973, and it is evident that this is the source of Reader's Digest's translation. Reader's Digest accepted this interpretation which was based on a language specific to a region near Sydney, and did not explain the origins. Indeed, the Digest also ignored the historical evidence that the lake was originally named 'Goorm', and failed to acknowledge that the WembaWemba words for 'big' in no way resembled the word 'boga'.[77]

Conclusions

It is clear from the evidence detailed here that many of the etymologies contained in local histories are spurious, and as a result, many twentieth-century representations of the nineteenth century are often homogenised, and do not account for the multiple processes involved in the creation of a town's identity. But, the concern of this paper is not only with correction; rather, it has attempted to show that in the process by which various explanations and translations are compiled and used, especially in local history, the name becomes integral to local settler culture. It is therefore not necessarily a marker of past histories but, rather, an indicator of appropriation. These meanings are woven into local histories in an attempt to signify the historical 'depth' of the town-name, but only in a manner conducive to promoting an imperial version of history.

The method of 'scissors and paste' as described by Blainey is clearly evident in these local histories of the Murray River. The propensity of such books to relegate indigenous history and culture to the period before 1836 aids in the promotion of confused and 'patched together' histories of the place names. The errors reproduced in these books were largely due to poor referencing and oversights in the collection of archival and other evidence. The errors should serve as a warning to all historians to check the original sources of their materials to avoid republishing unsubstantiated and spurious etymologies.

I would like to thank the examiner of this article for their invaluable advice on the linguistic aspects of the toponyms. My thanks also go to the editor of this journal, whose suggestions I have welcomely received.

Notes:

[1] Geoffrey Blainey, 'Scissors and Paste in Local History,' *Historical Studies*, vol. 6, 1954, p. 339.
[2] Martin Desmond, *A Tale of Twin Cities*, Armadale, Graphic Books, 1981, p. 1.
[3] R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1946, p. 257 onwards.
[4] Blainey, p. 339.
[5] Ian Clark and Toby Heydon, *Dictionary of Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria*, Melbourne, Victorian Aboriginal Corporation of Languages, 2002, p. 223.
[6] Journal entires of 24 April 1846 and 1 May 1846. Cited in Ian Clark, *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, Melbourne, Heritage Matters, 2000, p. 102.
[7] Robert Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of Natives of other Places*, Melbourne, George Robertson, 1878, vol. 2, p. 175.
[8] John Saxton, *Victorian Place Names and their Origins*, Melbourne, Saxton & Buckie, 1907, p. 64; Aldo Massola, *Aboriginal Place-Names of South-East Australia and their Meanings*, Melbourne, Lansdowne Press, 1968, p. 50; Les Blake, *Place Names of Victoria*, Melbourne, Rigby Ltd, 1977, p. 262; Clark and Heydon, *Dictionary*, p. 223.
[9] A.C. Stone, 'The Aborigines of Lake Boga,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria*, vol. 23, 1911, p. 435.
[10] Alice M. Cerruty, *Tyntyndyer: A Pioneering Homestead and its Families*, Kilmore, Lowden Publishing Company, 1977, p. 3.
[11] Arthur Feldtmann, *Swan Hill*, Melbourne, Rigby Ltd., 1973, p. 4.
[12] Bruce Baxter, Dawn McCartney, Doug Nicholls, Shirley Nicholson, Lyn O'Bree and Jill Pattenden, *Matakupat: Aboriginal History of the Swan Hill Area*, Swan Hill, Baxter, McCartney, Nicholls, Nicholson, O'Bree, Pattenden, 1990, p. 5.
[13] Blainey, p. 344.
[14] Saxton, p. 8.
[15] James O'Callaghan, *Names of Victorian Railway Stations, with their origins and meanings, together with similar information relative to the Capital Cities of Adelaide, Sydney, Brisbane and a few of the border stations of New South Wales and South Australia*, Melbourne, H.J. Green, 1918, p. 8; Archibald Martin, *Place Names in Victoria and Tasmania*, Sydney, NSW Bookstall Co., 1944, p. 9; Massola, p. 8.
[16] Clark and Heydon, *Dictionary*, p. 22.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[18] Smyth, vol. 2, p. 197.
[19] Saxton, p. 24 ; O'Callaghan, p. 43; James R. Tyrrell, *Australian Aboriginal Place Names and Their Meanings*, Sydney, Tyrrell's Pty. Ltd., 1933, p. 19; Alexander Reed, *Aboriginal Placenames and Their Meaning*, Sydney, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1967, p. 38; Sydney Endacott, *Australian Aboriginal Words and Place Names and their Meanings*, Melbourne, Acacia Press, 1973, p. 21; Blake, p. 90.
[20] Susan Priestley, *Echuca: A Centenary History*, Brisbane, Jacaranda Press, 1965, p. 24.
[21] Alan Morris, *Rich River*, Melbourne, Neptune Press, 1979, p. 17.
[22] Application for a lease of Crown Waste Lands for "Bonegilla" by Charles Ebden, 47/26, 22 November, 1847, VPRS 5920, Pastoral Run Papers 209, Public Records Office of Victoria (PROV), Melbourne.
[23] Smyth, vol. 2, p. 175.
[24] Clark and Heydon, *Dictionary*, p. 37.
[25] Saxton, p. 11.
[26] Arthur Andrews, 'The First Settlement of North-East Victoria,' *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1916, p. 20.
[27] Arthur Andrews, *The First Settlement of the Upper Murray*, Sydney, D.S. Ford, 1920, p. 110.
[28] Martin, p. 15; Massola, p. 11.
[29] Endacott, p. 12.

[30] Blake, p. 44.
[31] Dirk Eysbertse and Marijke Eysbertse, *Bonegilla: Where Waters Meet, The Dutch Migrant Experience*, Melbourne, Erasmus Foundation, 1997, p. 11.
[32] Cornelius Vleeskens in *ibid*, p. 7.
[33] *Reader's Digest Guide to Australian Places*, Sydney, Reader's Digest, 1993, p. 347.
[34] Helen Coulson, *Echuca-Moama on the Murray*, Melbourne, Hyland House, 1995, p. 25.
[35] Coulson mentioned that she took the meaning from Massola, p. 35 and Smyth, vol. 2, p. 68. No such translation is available in Smyth's book.
[36] Massola, p. 35.
[37] O'Callaghan, p. 70.
[38] O'Callaghan referenced Curr, vol. 1, p. 263.
[39] *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 260.
[40] Translated from a list provided by B.W. Gummow in Smyth, vol. 2, p. 175.
[41] Translated from a list provided by E. Cunningham of the Dawson River area, Wogga Wogga language in Edward Curr, *The Australian Race: It's origins, languages, Customs, Place of landing in Australia, and Routes by which it spread itself over the continent*, Melbourne, John Ferres, 1887, vol. 3, p. 107.
[42] Luise Hercus, *Wembawemba Dictionary*, Canberra, L.A. Hercus, 1992, p. 104.
[43] O'Callaghan, p. 72.
[44] Blake, p. 205.
[45] Hercus, p. 91.
[46] Alice Lockhart, *Souvenir of Back to Nyah*, Nyah, Nyah Historical Society, 1974, p. 3.
[47] Grace Willoughby, *On 'this bend' of the river*, Robinvale, Robinvale Printers, 1993, p. 3.
[48] Endacott, p. 44.
[49] Clark and Heydon, *Dictionary*, p. 169.
[50] Reed, p. 60.
[51] O'Callaghan, p. 70.
[52] Blake, p. 174.
[53] Alice Lapthorne, *Mildura Calling*, Red Cliffs, Sunnyland Press, 1981, p. 13.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[55] Clark and Heydon, *Dictionary*, p. 145.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[57] See for example: Curruty, *Tyntynder*; Frank Cusack, *Squatter's Choice: A History of the Swan Hill District Hospital*, Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1979; Feldtman, *Swan Hill*.
[58] Hercus, p. 63.
[59] This name was provided, without translation, by the Surveyor-General of Victoria in Smyth, vol. 2, p. 195.
[60] This name was provided by B.W. Gummow, and translated as meaning 'platypus' in *ibid*, vol. 2, p. 176.
[61] Mitchell Kilgour Beveridge, 'Pioneering on the Lower Murray,' *Journal of Royal Historical Society of Victoria*, vol. 1, 1911, p. 29. No translation of name provided.
[62] Blake, p. 77. No translation of name provided.
[63] Stone, p. 63.
[64] Cusack, p. 1.
[65] Doug Nicholls & Bruce Baxter, "Chapter 3: Dreaming Areas", in Dawn McCartney, *Matakupat: Aboriginal History of the Swan Hill Area*, Swan Hill, Booklet, 1990, pp. 5-6, p. 5. Name translation given as 'platypus'.
[66] Cusack, p. 1.
[67] Baxter, McCartney, Nicholls, Nicholson, O'Bree and Pattenden, p. 5.
[68] Stone, pp. 437-8
[69] Saxton, p. 11.
[70] Blake, p. 150.
[71] E.S. Parker, *The Aborigines of Australia: a lecture delivered in the Mechanics Hall*, Melbourne, Mc Coll, 1854, p. 13.
[72] R.M.W. Dixon, W.S. Ramson and Mandy Thomas, *Australian Aboriginal words in English : their Origin and Meaning*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 203.
[73] O'Callaghan, p. 60.

[74] Massola, p. 11.
[75] Smyth, vol. 2, p. 176; Curr, vol. 3, p. 505.
[76] *Reader's Digest Guide to Australian Places*, p. 351.
[77] Hercus, p. 79. The names are given as 'kurrumbit'(big-tall), 'kurrumbituk'(big-tall), 'karrinyuk'(big-wide).